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DRAFTED BY: AF/C:DRAWSON/CSFULLER:CSF

APPROVED BY: AF/FO:HJCOHEN

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AF/E:CWILSON

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S/S-O: JJONES

S/S: WITOH

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 364080

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL. MOPS, PGOV, RW, UG
SUBJECT: LETTER TO MUSEVENI ON RWANDAN NEGOTIATIONS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. BACKGROUND: DURING A DEBRIEFING ON THE LAST ROUND OF RWANDAN NEGOTIATIONS AT ARUSHA, U.S. OBSERVER DAVE RAWSON NOTED AGAIN THE POSITIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE UGANDAN DELEGATION. IT IS LIKELY THAT MUSEVENI'S INFLUENCE ON THE RPF WILL BECOME EVEN MORE CRITICAL WHEN THE NEGOTIATORS BROACH THE QUESTION OF INTEGRATION OF SECURITY FORCES AND WE WOULD LIKE TO KEEP HIM INVOLVED IN A POSITIVE WAY.

3. ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO PRESENT TO PRESIDENT MUSEVENI AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY THE

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FOLLOWING LETTER FROM A/S COHEN EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR UGANDAN SUPPORT OF THE PEACE PROCESS, REVIEWING PROGRESS AT THE LAST ROUND OF PEACE TALKS, AND SUGGESTING NEXT STEPS.

BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

ON OCTOBER 30. ANOTHER ROUND OF THE RWANDAN PEACE TALKS IN ARUSHA SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED WITH THE SIGNATURE BY THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT OF A PROTOCOL OF AGREEMENT ON POWER-SHARING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THIS IS ANOTHER MAJOR STEP FORWARD IN THE PROCESS OF BRINGING PEACE AND DEMOCRACY TO RWANDA. IN THE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO THIS AGREEMENT. THE UGANDAN DELEGATION CONTINUED TO PLAY A MOST CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. FULLY COGNIZANT OF POLITICAL REALITIES IN RWANDA, THEY, ALONG WITH OTHER OBSERVERS, WERE ABLE TO BROKER

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COMPROMISES WHICH DEVOLVED DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY TO GOVERNMENT WHILE LEAVING PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA IN A LEADERSHIP ROLE AS CHIEF OF STATE AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RWANDAN ARMED FORCES.

THE PROTOCOL ALSO ENHANCES THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION BY REVIVING THE SUPREME COURT AND MAKING THAT INSTITUTION RESPONSIBLE FOR JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION. IN ADDITION, THE PROTOCOL ESTABLISHES ELECTORAL, JUDICIAL, AND CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSIONS NEEDED FOR THE SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS, OUTLINES THE PROGRAM FOR THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AND CALLS FOR DISCUSSIONS ON RWANDAN REFUGEES FOLLOWING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTEGRATION OF ARMED FORCES.

WE WERE PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH THE BUSINESSLIKE AND CORDIAL MANNER IN WHICH BOTH SIDES THIS TIME SEARCHED FOR SOLUTIONS TO ISSUES WHICH THEY CONFRONTED. THE NEGOTIATORS FOUND A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY WAY OF DEALING WITH THE MAJOR ISSUE--EXECUTIVE POWERS--AND OF DEALING WITH THE CRITICAL QUESTION OF JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER. THEY DEADLOCKED ON THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHING THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE GOVERNMENT WANTED THE ASSEMBLY TO BE POPULARLY ELECTED AND REPRESENTATIVE OF

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RWANDA.S GEOGRAPHIC BALANCE WHILE THE FRONT WANTED THE ASSEMBLY TO BE APPOINTED IN A MANNER THAT REFLECTED THE BALANCE OF POLITICAL FORCES WITHIN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH SEVERAL SUGGESTED COMPROMISES WERE OFFERED (INCLUDING ONE FROM THE UGANDAN OBSERVERS WHICH WOULD HAVE EXPANDED THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY--THE CND), THE FRONT STUCK TO ITS ORIGINAL DEMAND OF AN APPOINTED

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ASSEMBLY. IN THIS THEY HAD SUPPORT FROM OPPOSITION PARTIES IN KIGALI.

AS NEGOTIATIONS RESUME ON NOVEMBER 23, THE KEY ISSUES WILL BE HOW TO SET UP THE INTERIM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND HOW

CABINET PORTFOLIOS SHOULD BE ALLOCATED. THE NOTION OF INCORPORATING THE CURRENT CND WITHIN A NEW. APPOINTED ASSEMBLY SEEMS TO US TO BE A USEFUL WAY OF HAVING BOTH POLITICAL CONTINUITY AND SUBSTANTIVE CHANGE. WE NEED A COMPROMISE THAT WILL NOT EXCLUDE ANY IMPORTANT POLITICAL FORCE FROM THE TRANSITION PROCESS; ANY STRUCTURE THAT MAKES ALL RWANDANS FEEL THAT THEY ARE INVOLVED IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE SHOULD BE SATISFACTORY. MORE CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THE TRANSITION WILL BE ALLOCATION OF THE PORTFOLIOS IN CABINET. HERE THE CONCERN IS THAT NO MAJOR POLITICAL FORCE BE PERMANENTLY DISADVANTAGED BY THE CONSENSUS AND THE 2/3 MAJORITY FORMS OF DECISION-MAKING AGREED TO IN THE PROTOCOL. THE ALLOCATION OF PORTFOLIOS SHOULD REQUIRE COALITION-BUILDING AND COOPERATION AMONG POLITICAL FORCES IN RWANDA. TO THIS END, THE GOVERNMENT SIDE NEEDS TO BE AWARE OF THE FRONT'S LEGITIMATE CONCERNS IN THE SECURITY AREA, AND THE FRONT NEEDS TO MAKE SURE THAT PRESIDENTIAL INTERESTS (WHICH HAVE ALREADY DEVOLVED AUTHORITY TO CABINET) ARE ADEQUATELY SAFEGUARDED.

AS THESE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED, BOTH SIDES NEED ENCOURAGEMENT TOWARDS REALISM AND COMPROMISE. SO FAR OUR DELEGATIONS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY WORKED TOGETHER TO THAT END. I AM PLEASED THAT YOU SHARE WITH US THE CONCERN THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS MOVE STEADILY TOWARD AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL

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ENSURE PEACE FOR RWANDA AND FOR THE WHOLE REGION. I HOPE
THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THIS VITAL EFFORT.

SINCERELY,

HERMAN J. COHEN

END TEXT. EAGLEBURGER

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